

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEAE-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 /081 W
-----311648Z 006526 /47

P R 311516Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6409
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: IS, US, PFOR
SUBJECT: ISRAELI PRESS ON U.S.-ISRAELI RELATIONS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: EVEN THE LATEST COALITION NEGOTIATIONS
AND "DAYAN BOMBSHELL" HAVE DONE VERY LITTLE TO CONCEAL
THE CURRENT "BATTLE OF WORDS" BETWEEN JERUSALEM AND
WASHINGTON. ALL NEWSPAPERS INCLUDE FACTUAL REPORTS AND
EDITORIALS ON RECENT STATEMENTS MADE BY U.S. LEADERS.
SEVERAL COMMENTARIES ARE DEVOTED TO WHAT IS BEING DES-
CRIBED AS A "VISIBLE EROSION IN THE U.S. POSITION."
END SUMMARY.

2. MAARIV EDITORIAL OF MAY 29, REACTING TO PRESIDENT
CARTER'S REFERENCE TO THE PARTITION BORDERS OF 1947,
WRITES THAT "ISRAEL'S AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON YESTERDAY
TRIED TO ASSUAGE ISRAELIS' FEARS BY SAYING THAT THE
U.S. GOVERNMENT DOES NOT BASE ITS PLANS FOR A
SETTLEMENT OF THE ISRAELI-ARAB DISPUTE ON THE
PARTITION BORDERS OF 1947 OR ON THE U.N. RESOLUTIONS
CONCERNING REPATRIATION OF THE ARAB REFUGEES... BUT
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WHEN PRESIDENT CARTER OPENLY CALLS ON AMERICAN JEWRY
AND ISRAEL'S FRIENDS IN CONGRESS TO TRY TO PERSUADE
MENAHEM BEGIN TO MODIFY HIS POSITION, IT WOULD BE
BETTER IF THOSE CALLED UPON TO PRESSURE BEGIN KNEW
JUST WHAT U.S. POLICY AIMS WERE, AND THIS SHOULD BE
MADE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR. THE WAY TO DO THIS IS NOT
THROUGH A TETE-A-TETE BETWEEN THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR

AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE, BUT THROUGH STATEMENTS FROM WASHINGTON TO CLEAR UP THE CONFUSION."

3. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE AL HAMISHMAR EDITORIAL OF MAY 31 CONNECTS VARIOUS ADMINISTRATION AND PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS WITH RADICAL DECLARATIONS MADE IN ISRAEL AFTER THE ELECTIONS. WHILE THE EDITORIAL STRESSES THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS ALWAYS SUPPORTED U.S. RESOLUTION 242 AND 338 AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND THESE PRINCIPLES CANNOT BE ALTERED, IT QUESTIONS WHETHER THE RADICAL POSITIONS PROFESSED BY THE NEWLY-ELECTED ISRAELI LEADERS WILL NOT LEAD TO INEXTRICABLE COMPLICATIONS WITH THE U.S.

4. YEDIOT OF MAY 31 (TZIMUKI) REPORTS THAT "HIGH RANKING CONSULTATIONS ARE BEING HELD IN JERUSALEM TO SEEK SUITABLE WAYS OF REACTING TO THE FLOOD OF WORRYING STATEMENTS MADE BY PRESIDENT CARTER AND OFFICIAL SPOKESMEN IN WASHINGTON, AS WELL AS TO THE BRIEFINGS WHICH VARIOUS OFFICIAL SPOKESMEN ARE CONDUCTING IN WASHINGTON. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HIMSELF WILL REACT TO THESE DECLARATIONS, WHOSE CONTENTS COULD UNDERMINE THE DECLARED AMERICAN FUNDAMENTAL STANDS ON MATTERS IN THIS REGION. THE ATTEMPTS AT CALMING DOWN THE ATMOSPHERE MADE BY SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE AND PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER BRZEZINSKI WERE WILLINGLY RECEIVED, BUT ARE NOT SUFFICIENT TO CALM JERUSALEM, SINCE THE STATEMENTS MADE WERE EXTREMELY GRAVE. U.S. ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS ARE MAKING NO ATTEMPT

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TO HIDE THEIR BELIEF THAT THE DECLARATIONS MADE BY MENAHEM BEGIN ARE LINKED TO THE VARIOUS STATEMENTS MADE BY PRESIDENT CARTER. ACCORDING TO THIS CONCEPT, CARTER'S STATEMENTS WERE MEANT TO "CURB" MAXIMALIST DECLARATIONS OF THE LIKUD LEADER.... TZIMUKI ADDS THAT "IT IS INCREASINGLY FELT IN JERUSALEM THAT FURTHER EXACERBATIONS IN THE STATEMENTS OF AUTHORIZED U.S. SPOKESMEN ARE TO BE EXPECTED IN THE FUTURE. THESE CLEARLY SERVE A CONSISTENT AND OFFICIAL LINE. IT MUST BE STRESSED THAT WHILE WASHINGTON IS MAKING STATEMENTS AROUSING CONCERN IN JERUSALEM IT PRESENTS THE DECLARATIONS OF VARIOUS ARAB LEADERS AS MODERATE. THE BELIEF IN JERUSALEM IS THAT THIS OFFSETTING OF ISRAELI DECLARATIONS BY THOSE OF THE ARAB LEADERS IS MEANT TO "CLARIFY" THAT THE ARABS ARE THE MODERATE ONES WHILE ISRAEL IS "TOUGH..."

5. DAVAR OF MAY 31 (BARNEA IN WASHINGTON) WRITES THAT U.S. ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS LAST NIGHT EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE "WAR OF STATEMENTS" BETWEEN PRESIDENT

CARTER AND ISRAEL WOULD COME TO AN END WITHOUT ANY
REAL DAMAGE BEING CAUSED TO RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO
COUNTRIES. ISRAEL'S CABINET DECISION ON SUNDAY, WHICH
ATTACKS CARTER'S DECLARATIONS WITH UNUSUAL SEVERITY,
DID NOT EXCITE ANY SPECIAL ATTENTION IN THE U.S., ONE
OF THE PROBABLE REASONS BEING THAT THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT
IS CONCLUDING ITS DUTIES, BARNEA NOTES THAT "AT
LEAST TWO SENIOR ADMINISTRATION FIGURES--SECRETARY OF
STATE VANCE AND NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS COUNCIL
CHAIRMAN BRZEZINSKI--HAVE ENDEAVOURED TO CONVEY TO
AMBASSADOR DINITZ THE IMPRESSION THAT THE PRESIDENT
ERRED IN MAKING THE STATEMENTS HE DID, AND DID NOT
INTEND TO INVEST THEM WITH OPERATIVE SIGNIFICANCE. IN
THIS MANNER BOTH ISRAEL AND THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION
CAN CLAIM TO HAVE WON THE DIPLOMATIC TUSSLE--THE
AMERICANS HAVE CURBED BEGIN AND THE ISRAELIS HAVE
OBTAINED A CLARIFICATION FROM THE ADMINISTRATION."
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6. HAARETZ HEADLINE STORY OF MAY 30 (GOLAN) ALSO
MENTIONS BRZEZINSKI AS STATING THAT WHEN EXTREME-

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEAE-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
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SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 /081 W
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SOUNDING CLAIMS ARE VOICED IN ISRAEL WITH REGARD TO ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES, THE U.S. FEELS CONSTRAINED TO QUOTE OLD U.N. RESOLUTIONS IN REPLY, SUCH AS THE PARTITION RESOLUTION. ACCORDING TO GOLAN, BRZEZINSKI'S REACTION WAS REPORTED TO THE CABINET YESTERDAY (MAY 29) BY FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON. HE DID NOT QUOTE PROF. BRZEZINSKI BY NAME BUT IT WAS LEARNED THAT HE WAS THE SOURCE REFERRED TO.

7. MAARIV (MAY 31, HARIF) DOES NOT ACCEPT BRZEZINSKI'S REPORTED EXPLANATION THAT CARTER'S MOTIVATIONS IN MAKING EXTREMIST STATEMENTS COME AS A RETALIATION TO THE EXTREMIST STATEMENTS EMANATING FROM ISRAEL. "THE FACT IS THAT WHEN THE U.S. PRESIDENT FIRST SPOKE OF A 'PALESTINIAN HOMELAND' THIS WAS NOT PRECEDED BY ANY PROVOCATION UTTERED BY MR. BEGIN." HARIF DOES NOT REGARD BEGIN'S RECENT STATEMENTS AS PARTICULARLY HELPFULL BUT STRESSES THAT THERE IS PRACTICALLY NO DOUBT THAT THE STATEMENTS MADE BY PRESIDENT CARTER WERE NOT IN REACTION TO BEGIN'S DECLARATIONS. HARIF BELIEVES THAT THE RECENT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS AMOUNT TO A UNCLASSIFIED

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COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM WHICH CONSISTS OF A RETREAT TO THE 1967 BORDERS WITH MINOR MODIFICATIONS, A HOMELAND FOR THE PALESTINIANS, WHILE "PEACE" IS DEFINED A "AN END TO THE STATE OF WAR."

8. JERUSALEM POST HEADLINE STORY (MAY 31, BLITZER QUOTES AMERICAN OFFICIALS AS ASSERTING THAT "USG, PUBLIC WON'T ACCEPT HISTORICAL CLAIM TO LAND OF ISRAEL." THE AMERICAN OFFICIALS ARE QUOTED AS SAYING". "IF THE LIKUD IS REALLY SERIOUS ABOUT EMBARKING ON A MAJOR PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN TO CONVINCE AMERICANS THAT ISRAEL SHOULD NOT WITHDRAW FROM ANY PART OF THE GAZA STRIP, JUDEA OR SAMARIA, THE PROSPECTIVE ISRAELI LEADERSHIP SHOULD KNOW THAT THERE IS VERY LITTLE SUPPORT IN THE U.S.G. OR AMONG THE PUBLIC AT LARGE FOR THIS POSITION." WHILE IT IS CONSIDERED THAT A FEW MODIFICATIONS MAY BE ACCEPTABLE, THERE IS VERY LITTLE CHANCE THAT ISRAEL WILL WIN OVER AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL'S RETAINING ALL OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA STRIP. THE OFFICIALS ARE ALSO QUOTED AS SAYING THAT "NOT MANY AMERICANS WILL ACCEPT ISRAEL'S RELIGIOUS OR NATIONAL CLAIM THAT THESE AREAS ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE HISTORICAL LAND OF ISRAEL."

9. AMERICAN OFFICIALS ARE ALSO QUOTED AS SAYING THAT "IN THIS DAY AND AGE OF 'MAJORITY RULE' IT IS INCOMPREHENSIBLE THAT THE U.S. SHOULD ACCEPT THE LIKUD POSITION."

A WHITE HOUSE SOURCE IS QUOTED AS SAYING: "NOBODY IS GOING TO BUY THE RELIGIOUS ARGUMENT--CERTAINLY NOT JIMMY CARTER, WHO HAS PUBLICLY TAKEN THE POSITION THAT ISRAEL WILL HAVE TO GO BACK TO THE 1967 BORDERS WITH ONLY MINOR ADJUSTMENTS IN THAT LINE." BLITZER CONCLUDES BY QUOTING SOME U.S. SOURCES AS MENTIONING THE REVIVAL OF THE IDEA OF A REFERENDUM IN THE WEST BANK AT SOME DATE.

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10. DAVAR MAY 31 (TADMOR) SAYS THAT PRESIDENT CARTER IS NEGOTIATING SPECIFICS WITH ARAB LEADERS , WHILE AT THE SAME TIME DENYING ANY "PLAN" OF HIS OWN. BUT CARTER'S POSITIONS CAN ONLY BE EXPLAINED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT ISRAEL WILL ULTIMATELY HAVE TO DO WHAT IT IS TOLD. THE WARNINGS ARE MEANT TO PREPARE THE GROUND FOR A PUBLIC CAMPAIGN AIMED AT PERSUADING THE JEWISH PUBLIC IN THE U.S. THAT A SETTLEMENT IS WITHIN REACH AND THAT ISRAEL IS THE OBSTACLE. THESE WARNINGS ARE ACCOMPANIED BY DISCLOSURES ABOUT CLOSING VARIOUS PROCUREMENT TAPS.
LEWIS

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
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Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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From: TEL AVIV
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Litigation Code IDs:
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Litigation History:
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Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
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Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2311645
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ISRAELI PRESS ON U.S.-ISRAELI RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, IS, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
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Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009